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# QUESTION OF EQUITABLE REPRESENTATION ON AND INCREASE IN THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

## Report of the Secretary-General

## Addendum

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* A/48/150 and Corr.1.

## EGYPT

[Original: English]

[2 August 1993]

1. There is now universal recognition that the role of the United Nations should be reinforced to meet the recent fundamental changes in the international system. It is therefore imperative to enhance the capacity of the Security Council to carry out its responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

2. The Government of Egypt considers the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council to be an integral component of the overall efforts to improve and enhance the ability of the Council to fulfil its responsibilities prescribed in the Charter of the United Nations.

3. These efforts should include a comprehensive review of the working methods of the Council to ensure a more efficient and responsive Council. These efforts should also extend to reviewing the level of participation in and transparency of the deliberations and the decision-making processes of the Security Council.

4. The Security Council's membership was last enlarged in 1963. The rationale behind enlarging the Council at that time was the need to reflect the increased membership of the United Nations, which had risen from 51 in 1954 to 113 in 1963. At present the United Nations has 184 members. Since 1963, and despite the profound changes that have taken place in the international system, the composition of the Security Council had remained static. It is therefore only appropriate to take a fresh look at the composition of the Council with a view to reflecting the increase in the United Nations membership as well as the international and regional power structures.

5. The Government of Egypt believes that the enlargement of the membership of the Security Council (permanent and non-permanent) is an essential step to initiate the process of strengthening the Council. This should be done without prejudice to the efficiency and effectiveness of the work of the Council.

6. This enlargement should reflect both the nature and extent of the new balance of power, as well as the prominence of regional Powers as major international actors. Due regard should be paid, in this context, to the interests of developing countries.

7. The Government of Egypt is of the view that since the ideological divide which characterized the world scene for several decades has ceased to exist, a larger Security Council will certainly be more credible, yet not less efficient and responsive.

8. In order to take into account the new developments that have recently emerged in our contemporary world, it would be beneficial to devise a new category of membership in the Council that recognizes present regional realities. An intermediate group of members between the permanent members and the non-permanent ones should be established. A possible formula to address

this issue would be to establish in each region one or more seats without veto power to rotate between the major Powers of that region. In this context, due regard should be paid - in accordance with the provisions of Article 23 of the Charter - to the contribution of States Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and other purposes of the Organization, including the participation in peace-keeping operations, where developing countries are offering a substantial contribution and assuming increasing responsibilities.

9. Furthermore, it has become the practice to assign Africa relatively more seats than other groups in United Nations organs, in recognition of the fact that it is the regional group with the largest membership. This practice should be duly followed in the efforts to enlarge the Council.

10. Finally, the Egyptian Government believes that the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations provides an opportune moment to conclude the important task of restructuring and revitalizing the Security Council in order to enable it to serve better the purposes and principles of the Charter.

## ICELAND

[Original: English]

[29 July 1993]

1. Since the last review of the membership of the Security Council took place in 1963, there has been a substantial increase in the number of States Members of the United Nations. At the same time the Council, especially in recent years, increasingly played the central role foreseen for it in the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. It is therefore timely to engage in a review of the Council's membership.

2. The goal of such a review must be to make the activities of the Security Council more effective and efficient and to improve its image in the world community. Reforms must ensure, as far as possible, that the actions of the Council enjoy the support of and accurately reflect the positions of the Member States. It is therefore of vital importance that any reforms enjoy wide support among the Member States.

3. In the process of review of the membership of the Security Council, due regard must be paid to the provisions of Article 23 of the Charter regarding the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization. Equitable geographical distribution must also be taken into account.

4. In the view of the Icelandic Government, the number of permanent members of the Council should be limited. Any new permanent members should not be vested with special voting privileges.

## QATAR

[Original: Arabic]

[27 July 1993]

1. There is no disagreement among States as to whether the time has come to restructure the Security Council by increasing the number of its members so as to achieve equitable representation. The current composition of the Security Council reflects the international situation and the balance of international power that prevailed after the end of the Second World War and the founding of the United Nations. Nearly half a century has elapsed since that time, and the situation has changed. We may focus in particular on the following two points:

(a) The steady increase in the number of States Members of the United Nations, which is now three times that of the founding Members. That is because of the accession of the former colonies to the ranks of independent States and, in the past two years, the transformation of States that were part of a union, such as the Soviet Union and the former Yugoslavia, each of which occupied a single seat, into independent States, each of which has individually joined the international organization.

(b) The change that has occurred in balance of power among the States of the world since the founding of the United Nations. States have emerged that are now counted among the major Powers, for the economic power of certain States, such as Japan and Germany, places them in that category.

2. Qatar therefore believes that the membership of the Security Council must be increased so as to make the Council more representative of the international community in the exercise of its extensive powers under the Charter of the United Nations. If it was reasonable at the outset that the Council should be composed of 15 members out of a total United Nations membership of under 50, the current membership of the General Assembly, which totals nearly 200, makes it necessary to expand the membership of the Security Council, perhaps not in the same proportion but, at all events, to more than 15.

3. From another viewpoint, it may be noted also that the five permanent members, which have the veto, include three States from one continent, namely, Europe, and one State from Asia and do not include any State from the African continent or from South America. While this composition represents the realities of the international situation as it was some 50 years ago, it now lags behind developments in the international community and the balances of forces prevailing in it.

4. In order to avoid increasing the number of permanent members holding the veto, consideration might be given to the establishment of a European seat that the three European States that are currently permanent members, with the addition of Germany, in acknowledgement of its new status as a major Power, might occupy by rotation. Similarly, consideration might be given to the establishment of another Asian seat (in addition to that occupied by China) that might be occupied in rotation by such Asian States as Japan and India, in acknowledgement of the demographic, territorial or economic size of those States and their impact on the current international situation. An African seat might

also be established and occupied by rotation by such States as Egypt or Nigeria, on the same grounds, and a Latin American seat, to be occupied in rotation by the major States of that continent, such as Brazil and Argentina.

5. If these proposals were put into effect, the number of States with permanent seats would thus become six (the United States, China, the currently incumbent European State, the currently incumbent second Asian State, the currently incumbent African State and the currently incumbent Latin American State). This number is not much larger than that of the current permanent members. This is in order to obviate the complications that might arise from a large increase in the States having the veto.

6. There is, however, another aspect of the matter, which relates to the non-permanent members, whose number might be increased from 10 to 15 or perhaps more, according to the consensus of the views of States that emerges from the inquiry conducted by the Secretary-General pursuant to the General Assembly resolution.

7. An increase in the number of non-permanent members might provide an opportunity to regional groups that are similar than the present ones to elect non-permanent members from each group.

## REPUBLIC OF KOREA

[Original: English]

[3 August 1993]

1. The increase in the membership of the United Nations over the years and the growing demand for its role in establishing a new international order necessitates a review of the structure and composition of the Security Council. The Government of the Republic of Korea welcomes the timely debate on this issue initiated by General Assembly resolution 47/62, in which the Assembly requested the Secretary-General to invite Member States to submit their comments.

2. The Republic of Korea believes that the Security Council should be expanded in membership and restructured in order for it to reflect more accurately the reality of the changed international relations and to have greater authority in discharging its responsibility, under the Charter of the United Nations, of maintaining international peace and security. This should be done, however, in such a manner that would not compromise its effectiveness.

3. In light of the above, the Republic of Korea wishes to make the following points:

(a) First, the Republic of Korea proposes that due consideration be given to creating a new category of members of the Security Council. The members in this category should be selected on the basis of their ability and willingness to promote international peace and security. While the details such as the number, selection process and status (including the term in the Council) are subject to discussion by the Member States, the Republic of Korea does not

consider it desirable to extend the right of veto to the members of this category;

(b) Second, the non-permanent membership of the Security Council should be expanded in view of the substantial increase in the total membership of the United Nations. These additional seats should be equitably distributed among the regional groups, based on the number of States, population and other relevant factors of each region;

(c) Third, the Republic of Korea believes that there is a need for discussion on ways and means to improve the present veto mechanism. The right of veto has rarely been exercised over the past few years, a fact which, in our view, has contributed much to the revitalization of the Security Council. The Republic of Korea considers this a positive trend which should be encouraged to continue.

4. Reforming the Security Council is a key to strengthening the United Nations and has a vital importance for consolidating a new and peaceful international order. The Republic of Korea hopes that the views of all Member States will be honoured and that a consensus will be reached soon on this matter through deliberations among Member States.

## UKRAINE

[Original: Russian]

[2 August 1993]

1. The United Nations stands on the threshold of its fiftieth anniversary. During the period of its existence it has traced a significant historical course and has grown in membership and in quality. From the 51 States which founded the United Nations in 1945, the membership has grown to 184 States, bringing the Organization close to universality. It has perfected its work and has extended its activities to new spheres with the aim of solving both existing and newly emerging global problems of humanity. At the same time the degree of adaptation of United Nations structures to world realities has lagged behind the requirements of the times. The constantly growing volume of work of the United Nations and the need for an adequate reflection of the numerical increase in Member States have led to periodical growth in the size of the major organs of the United Nations system. Only the Security Council, in essence, has been left out of that process, having expanded its membership only once - by four seats in 1963 - and since then has remained unchanged. Over the years that have elapsed since then, the United Nations has been augmented by 71 States, and this gives rise to the need to eliminate, at least in part, the disproportion between the composition of the Security Council and the membership of the United Nations. (In 1945 the composition of the Security Council represented over 20 per cent of the membership of the United Nations; in 1993, it represents only about 8 per cent.)

2. Ukraine shares the view now held by many States that the present-day numerical membership of the Security Council and its functioning and methods of work need to be modified with an eye to enhancing representation on the Security

Council and to taking account of new regional realities and of new participants in inter-State relations. The realization of this proposal would significantly enhance the level of legitimacy of the Council as an organ whose function is to fulfil the responsibilities placed upon it by the Charter on behalf of all Members of the United Nations. At the same time, it is necessary for the Council to retain its clear and businesslike style of work and to be in a position to react without delay to the emergence of situations calling for operational intervention, consider these situations at short notice and take appropriate decisions. It is important to reach a compromise on ways of solving the question of membership of the Security Council which would be acceptable to all States, including the permanent members of the Council.

3. In the solution of this problem, account must be taken of the emergence of new participants in inter-State relations which have both potential and real capabilities of playing a major role in the work of the Organization at the present time, especially in the maintenance and strengthening of international peace, and which bear a substantial part of the financial burden of the United Nations.

4. It would be useful to study the question of the extent to which the two-tier model of membership of the Security Council corresponds to present-day circumstances, in which one part of it comprises permanent members and the other non-permanent members, elected for two years from a number of candidates from the regional groups. This system, as a rule, permits a State to aspire to a seat on the Council in reality no more than once in 10 to 15 years. Perhaps the time has come to envisage an intermediate tier, i.e., a third category of members of the Council comprising two or three important States in each regional group which would take turns in serving on the Council. This proposal could be put into practice by having each of the regional groups fill one additional seat on the Council. States making the greatest contribution to the maintenance of international peace and the attainment of other United Nations objectives and bearing the heaviest financial burdens of the Organization would have greater opportunities to participate in the Council's work. In this way, Article 23, paragraph 1, of the Charter would be complied with more fully. Ukraine considers it necessary to fulfil more consistently the criteria for membership of the Security Council laid down in Article 23, paragraph 1. In the elections, due regard should be specially paid in the first instance to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the United Nations.

5. There is also a need to find forms of effective participation in the work of the Council by the largest States in terms of population, for example, those with a population of over 50 million people. An informal "group of fifties" of this kind (which, as of now, together with the permanent members, would consist of 22 States), representing more than half of mankind, would, if created, significantly strengthen the legitimacy and authority of the Council's decisions.

6. The question of the composition of the Council cannot be resolved satisfactorily in isolation from its voting procedure and, in particular, without modifying the right of veto. This institution, having been incorporated in the United Nations Charter from the League of Nations, acquired a somewhat different hue once in the Organization: from an instrument for maintaining the

balance of power between the major States during the period preceding the Second World War, it became in the post-war period a lever to counteract attempts to foist upon one ideological system, or upon individual States belonging to that system, the will of another system or of individual States belonging to it, and thereby avert a conflict, the consequences of which would have been hard to foresee. The partnership relations currently existing among the permanent members of the Security Council overcome that problem. In that connection, and also in the light of other realities of the contemporary world, it should be possible to take a second look at a procedure whereby a single State is, in essence, able to block a decision on any issue, even one of interest to the entire international community. At this point, it would be appropriate to study the possibility of introducing one of the forms of modification of the right of veto. This could be, for example, a suspension of the vote or the granting to the General Assembly or to the Security Council, the composition of which would have been especially expanded for such cases, of the right to overrule the veto, if invoked by only one permanent member of the Security Council.

7. The question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council is of great importance for the future of the United Nations, for the international community as a whole and for each individual Member State. There is a need to continue the in-depth study of this question in the General Assembly so that genuine, practical steps may already be taken to that end in connection with the fiftieth anniversary of the Organization.

## YEMEN

[Original: Arabic]

[9 August 1993]

1. Since the United Nations was established, the world has undergone many changes, and the foundations on which the Organization has been based in the past do not accommodate the extent of the changes that have taken place in the international arena in the last few years in particular.

2. As a result of these changes, the system of the balance of power based on a bipolar order has altered and use of the military option in international relations has diminished. New standards, including economic power and scientific and technological advantage, have emerged to define the power and influence of States, and economic rivalry and the trading of interests have become the chief mode of determining relations between States.

3. In another respect, the map of the world is no longer as it was when the United Nations was established, and the number of developing countries has grown and their influence in the international arena has increased despite the difficulties facing them.

4. When the comparison is made, we find that the developing countries now constitute the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the globe.

5. Accordingly, a review of the structure of the Organization to bring changes in the Security Council into line with this new global reality requires

substantial modifications in the role and decision-making authority of the United Nations.

6. These views accord with the policy of the Republic of Yemen, which is to strengthen the role of the United Nations in conflict resolution and the maintenance of international peace and security and to make of the Organization an instrument that promotes balanced and equitable relations among all States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

7. It is our belief that a review of the United Nations system cannot be effective if no account is taken of global democratic representation and of balance between the interests of all States.

8. The following points, which a great many Member States find essential, represent a general approach to such restructuring:

(a) An increase in the membership of the Security Council to take account of equitable geographical representation;

(b) A review of permanent membership of the Council in such a manner as to accord with the new changes and achieve overall international peace and security while ensuring that the conditions required for permanent membership are met;

(c) Abolition of the veto system and adoption of another voting system based on democratic principles (and inhibiting attempts by Member States to abuse it). A system based on the consensus or majority of States members of the Council may perhaps be the best option;

(d) Strengthening of the role of the United Nations and of its organs in general and, in particular, strengthening of the General Assembly so that its resolutions carry the same force and authority as those of the Security Council, and so that it may function in a balanced, integrated and effective manner in accordance with the acknowledged principles;

(e) The greatest possible attention to international economic cooperation in the activities of the United Nations in order to promote the bridging of the economic gulf between the wealthy countries of the North and the impoverished countries of the South and assistance to developing countries in their development and modernization projects. This will strengthen confidence between all States and promote the achievement of international stability and peace;

(f) Inclusion of regional organizations in non-permanent membership through representation by the current chairman or president of their supreme organs;

(g) Consideration for the relative population figures of each grouping in the allocation of non-permanent seats.

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